/13 cont'd/
of Lin-kao-fan, Ta-fan, Chen-chih-yüan, and Tung-men, and the valley of Mt. Ta-chi of Ling-shui, they clear the land for cultivation by burning. The population is much smaller than that of the Li." This statement should be considered as a record of the geographical distribution of the Miao before the three Li districts in the Nan-hai area were set up.)

There is another question worthy of discussion in the study of the Miao population. It is whether the present Miao have kept a pure blood line. In other words, have they mingled with elements of other groups? From the point of view of marriage, it seems possible that the Miao have maintained a pure blood line, since Miao custom has forbidden intermarriage with other groups; but, in fact, this is not wholly the case. According to my knowledge, Lu Tsun-ying, the headman of the Miao village of Ang-chi in Ta-chi in Pao-t'ing district bought and adopted a Li child because he himself had reached old age without an heir. /14/ I was also told by Mr. Wang Fu-shou, who was the Miao headman in Pao-ch'a village, that in the very beginning there were only four Miao families—P'an, Shih, Li, and Teng. Only in a later period were other families added. He could not explain the reason. This statement, however, leads one to suppose that the other families were originally from other groups who later became Miao. With regard to Wang Fu-shou himself, some people told me that he was originally a Li who had later became a Miao. In short, it seems that there must have been some foreign elements mingled with the Miao people. This fact is indeed favorable for the growth of their population. But, on the other hand, there were also some Miao people who became members of other groups, proof of which is to be found in a statement in the family register of the Lin family:

"Sheng-kuei of the east field lived in a t'ung of the Li people and became a Li; having arrived in the mountain village, Sheng-ho-wang (?) married a Miao."

Furthermore, Lu Tsun-ying personally told me that he had some older and younger brothers /i.e. cousins/ of the same surname, who lived in the neighborhood of Chia-chi market of Ch'iung-tung

/14 cont'd/
district. This tendency for the Miao to become Chinese or Li is indeed unfavorable for an increase in the Miao population.

English	Miao	English	Miao
Cardinal Numbers		Cardinal Numbers	
one	ă	twenty-one	nī sip jā
two	i	twenty-two	nī sip ngĭ
three	bo	twenty-three	ni sip tum
four	bā	thirty	tum sip
five	bă	forty	tā sip
six	kŭr	fifty	ngon sip
seven	njē	sixty	ngŭ sip
eight	z	seventy	kat sip
nine	dŏ	eighty	bid sip
ten	sip	ninety	shŭ sip
eleven	sip jā	one hundred	ă bā
twelve	sip ngĭ	two hundred	i bā
thirteen	sip tum	three hundred	tum bā
fourteen	sip tā	one thousand	á coon
fifteen	sip ngon	/16/ ten thousand	à tin
sixteen	sip ngŭ	one hundred thousand	à dū
seventeen	sip kat	a million	à bē
eighteen	sip bid		
nineteen	sip shŭ		
twenty	nī sip		

/125 cont'd/

H M 648 feel happy about accepting Chinese culture. This is the only effective and natural way to improve the relationship between the two peoples. To achieve this purpose, the development of education for the Li and the Miao is the only means.

M 636 J78 During the period from 1933-34, when Ch'en Han-kuang was appointed as administrator in the Li area, he successfully enlisted the support of the two minority peoples. They still think of him even today. This achievement was not purely accidental. He really did something constructive to improve intergroup relations. He respected them, treated them with sympathy, extended justice to them, and helped them to establish schools and other autonomous institutions. He selected a number of their children and sent them to school with government scholarships. He also led a group of their people to visit Canton. All these were unprecedented honors for the Li and the Miao. It was very natural that they were grateful. This was particularly true of the Miao, who had always been exploited by other people. When they were now treated with such care by government officials, it was natural that they were inspired by the honor and submitted to the government without reservation. The photographs that Ch'en gave them still hang on their walls. With how much respect they think of Ch'en can be judged by this single gesture. In improving the attitude of the Li and Miao toward the government, /126/ Ch'en accomplished his mission, but that was all. As to the improvement of intergroup friendship so that the three cultures might be unified permanently into one, Ch'en could not achieve this by his individual ability alone.

M 114 Finally, I have to point out particularly that the basic requirement for improving our intergroup relations is to change our traditional attitude toward the Li and Miao. Scorn must be replaced by sympathy; differentiation must be replaced by unification. If the basic idea is wrong and our motives are not honest, no remedy can be worked out.

/89 cont./

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Illus. 54. Personal adornment of women of She-te, Meng-tzu, Yunnan, (2), back view.

/Illus. 55-56 on pp. 90-91./

291 /92/ The materials used for Miao clothes consists of hemp
286 cloth, cotton cloth, and cheap local silk. Although they can
439 produce and weave it themselves, since the invasion of foreign cloth, hemp cloth is gradually disappearing from use. Native cloth is more durable than foreign cloth, but the output is limited and the cost is not low. Therefore, the market has gradually been taken over by foreign cloth. This is a general condition that exists in interior China and is not peculiar to the Miao area alone.

301 The personal adornment of the Hunan Miao today is alto-
[184] gether different from that of the Kweichow Miao and the Yunnan Miao. Even the personal adornment of the Hunan Miao as re-
301 corded in the Feng-huang T'ing Chih /Gazeteer of Feng-huang
175 Sub-prefecture/ during the Tao Kuang reign period /1821-1851/
[178] was very different from that today.

/141 cont./

*782 also must provide a sharp spear and a large creeper. The spear is used to stab the ox, and the creeper, to tie its head.

/142/ The Bludgeoning the Ox sacrifice to the kuei is the most lavish affair of the Miao. In addition to the water buffalo, the host also has to buy a common ox, two pigs, two chickens, and incense and paper, firecrackers, sweet wine, and sour fish. The relatives all have to send gifts.

[178] Formerly the Miao Bludgeoning-the-Buffalo sacrifice to the kuei lasted for five days, but now it lasts only three days. The first day is to honor the guests. That morning the "leg-bearing" relatives arrive in formation. As they approach the host's [788] house they set off firecrackers and play music. The host comes out to welcome them by burning incense and paper before them and kowtowing three times. The Miao consider that the water buffalo kuei comes with the mother's brother. By the time the lamps are lit in the evening, most of the guests invited have arrived; and after supper men and women guests begin to sing [533] [535] songs (see the chapter "Folk Songs," songs Nos. 29 and 30, "Eating Ox Song," and songs 33, 34, and 35, called "Beating the Flower Drum Song" /not translated/) and dance drum dances. The Chinese call the Miao drum dances "beating monkey drums." (See "Drum Dances and Amusements.") The host first starts the drumming, followed by the "leg-bearing" relatives, then by other guests according to the degree of relationship with the host, and last by the helpers. At the same time the sorcerer-priest begins his performance, using two large tables put together in the main house to make a long table, on which are then spread rice husks, on which are placed wine bowls, meat bowls, an iron tripod holding a tin can, and an upper millstone. The table is surrounded on all four sides with a number of plank benches. The sorcerer-priest and four "leg-bearing" relatives properly dressed in full [292] dress, and sometimes they wear spirit robes /shen p'ao/. The sorcerer-priest sits in the middle and the four men sit next. Those who blow trumpets and beat drums and gongs sit below. The sorcerer-priest, ringing a hand bell with his right hand and holding a chiao-tzu in his left hand, begins uttering an incantation.

/168 cont./
*782 time he picks up the rice from the bowl and scatters it around, which is called the "horse fodder." After scattering the "fodder" three times, he picks up a horse whip and hits the ground in front of and behind him. Meanwhile he continues the incantation, followed by paper burning. The fifth part of tasting the cooked food is the same as that for the first-grade sacrifice.

After all the parts have been performed, the sorcerer-priest still stands before the altar. Picking up the cock held in [231] readiness he bites off its neck with his teeth. The dead cock is thrown beside the altar. Then he discards his red garment and eats mi-pa. When he goes he takes the cock with him. While the cock is being bitten, if any blood splashes on some by-standers' clothes, then this man may not eat the mi-pa.

As to the ninth- and the twelfth-grade sacrifices to the [178] Kung An Shen, the writers have not been able to investigate them as they are rarely performed in the Miao area these days. Therefore they are omitted here.

(6) Sacrifice to the Fourth Official Shen

[776] [556] The Miao offer sacrifice to this shen chiefly for the purpose of seeking wealth. There is no particular time for this ritual, but the place is inside the main house, to the right of the main entrance. A square table is set up, on which are placed four bowls of wine and one bowl of meat with a little salt and a pair of chopsticks. There is also a certain amount of paper money, in which are stuck three sticks of incense. The sorcerer-priest, wearing ordinary clothes, holds the chiao-tzu in his right hand and stands in front of the table. After uttering the incantation to invoke the spirit, he throws down the chiao-tzu *[187] on the table to divine and pours the wine to give the reason for the performance. After further divining with the chiao-tzu /169/ he sends off the shen. First he burns the paper money in a pan, and then throws the ashes into the censer /huo-lu/.

8? Graham E-5 (1921-1936) 1937 AE5 Miao AE5

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A Ch'uan Miao man clothed in embroidered garments. Formerly both men and women wore such embroideries on festive occasions. The men now do so only in a few isolated localities, and the women are rapidly discarding this unique and attractive dress for unembroidered cotton clothing.

From a sketch by Mr. Graham Peck

[facing p. 13]

8: Graham E-5 (1921-1936) 1937 AE5 Miao AE5

There is also the family in the largest sense, which we may call the clan. All male persons of the same name, whether or not they are related to the others by birth, their unmarried daughters, their wives and the wives of their male descendants, are regarded as related. A person can remain indefinitely in the home of a family to which he is not related by birth but having the same family name and he pays nothing for his food and does not easily wear out his welcome. It is considered a crime for two persons having the same family name to marry although there is no known relationship. There are certain memorial ceremonies in which all partipate who have the same family name, for all such are regarded as blood relatives, especially if they can trace their descent to the same legendary ancestor.

There is another way in which relationship is reckoned. Certain male relatives of a girl may have sexual relations with her without marriage and a man may enjoy sexual relations with certain female relatives as a matter of course and it is considered legitimate and proper, nobody raising any objections. It must not be with relatives of the same name. In Chinese they are called guest-wives and guest-husbands and in Ch'uan Miao the guest-wives are called ɔɪAu Ma and the guest-husbands are called ndᵃAu la. A man's guest-wives are the daughters of his mother's brothers and of his father's sisters. A girl's guest-husbands are the sons of her father's sisters and of her mother's brothers. Copulation with guest-wives and guest-husbands takes place before marriage without opposition from the parents or relatives and often it goes on secretly after marriage. There is a Ch'uan Miao proverb,

"A woman has ten husbands,
A man has ten wives."

Recently, both among the Hua Miao and the Ch'uan Miao the Christian husbands and fathers, wives and mothers and other relatives have been opposing this custom, but many of the non-Christian guest-husbands have been unwilling to give up their inherited privileges and have raised trouble about it. There have been quarrels and fights and in some cases the persons endeavoring to bring about a reform have been obliged to secure the help of Chinese officials.

Furthermore, there is a feeling of fellowship, friendship and relatedness among all the Ch'uan Miao that results in a spirit of helpfulness and cooperation. It is said that no Ch'uan Miao need starve to death unless there is a drought or famine. If one family is destitute other Miao families will each contribute some food or other necessity and the poor family will be able to get along.

8: Graham E-5 (1921-1936) 1937 AE5 Miao AE5

[524] 524 Men sometimes amuse themselves by going hunting together, generally in the winter time when there is less work to do. Both men and boys play shuttlecock at New Year time. The shuttlecock is often made by fastening feathers to a piece of bamboo. Sometimes the shuttlecock is kicked but more often it is knocked back and forth by means of wooden bats. There is a memory game in which the players use grains of corn. One is blindfolded or turns his back and the grains of corn are laid out on the table. Others pick up the grains of corn, a few at a time and say, "So many grains have been picked up. How many are left?" Sometimes, one or two cobs of corn are held in the hand and the players guess how many grains of corn there are on each cob. One game is played by nailing two planks or wooden beams together in the center at right angles to each other and balancing them on a pivot. Four men or boys balance themselves on the four ends of the beams and others rapidly turn around the cross or wheel with the four men on it. "Playing lion" is indulged in at New Year time and at weddings. Two men throw over themselves a cloth resembling a lion's skin. Then the lion fights with a man who always triumphs over the beast. [273] [276] Occasionally friends are invited to a feast where wine and tobacco are the principal means of entertainment. Both men and women smoke tobacco and drink wine but few of them smoke opium.

583 The Ch'uan Miao are lovers of music and among their principal amusements are singing and playing the *liu shêng* 六笙 or six-tubed wind instrument accompanied with dancing. There is no written language and much of the history and legends or folklore of the group have been made into songs and are passed on from generation to generation. Some of the words in the oldest songs are not understood by the Miao [178] at the present time and many of the young people are not learning the songs so that it is probable that they will be forgotten and lost within the next forty years.

The Ch'uan Miao rarely sing group songs or songs in which men sing one verse and women sing another in response. This is more common among the Hua Miao. Nearly all the songs are sung by one person, a man or a woman, to whom others listen. Sometimes, but rarely, men sing one verse and [584] women sing in response alternating until the song is finished. The songs sung on such occasions are love songs. At engagement ceremonies the middle men of the bride and the middle men of the groom sing alternately, sometimes ridiculing and sometimes praising each other. These songs and their tunes have been composed and handed down to subsequent generations for hundreds and perhaps thousands of years and they

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8: Graham E-5 (1921-1936) 1937 AE5 Miao AE5

[facing p. 32]

A Ch'uan Miao woman in festive dress. This picture was taken in 1925. Since then such embroideries have been rapidly disappearing, but there is a collection of over four hundred pieces in the *West China Union University Museum of Archaeology.*

Photo by D. C. Graham.

A Ch'uan Miao woman wearing her embroidered garments, taken in 1936. The embroideries are not nearly so elaborate as those worn by Ch'uan Miao women twenty years ago. Ch'uan Miao embroideries are rapidly disappearing.

influence of any foreign propaganda and that their revolt did not at any time assume the character of an anti-French manifestation. Thus their uprising had no repercussions on the other ethnic groups in Laos, which in spirit and in deed stood behind our repressive measures. L M 563 669

They returned in peace to their agricultural labors (chiefly the cultivation of poppies) in their precipitous solitudes. A special administrative statute gave them the cantonal and communal autonomy which they desired, with no Laotian or Annamite intermediary. No matter how infrequent their contacts with the populations of the valleys and plains, it is quite certain that racial antagonism (exploited by agitators during the revolt) was maintaining a state of mind among their groupings which was suspicious and devoid of friendliness towards the native authorities. The reforms which were put into effect seem to have yielded good results. In the same way, a prudent policy towards the still unsubdued tribes of Lower Laos, one which will avoid direct conflict with their customs /362/ and prejudices, will gradually tame these last representatives of another age whom the opening-up of means of communication will finally incorporate into the larger Indo-Chinese family. L M 563 636 609 178 563

/ Pages 363-367 contain a Bibliography. Page 368 is blank. Pages 369-375 contain an Alphabetical Index of Names Mentioned. Page 376 is blank. --Translator/ 000

39: Bernatzik--75 E-5 (1936-1937) 1947 AO1 Thailand
Miao AE5

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Chapter 7

Life in the Community

a) Birth

527 [842] The day on which a child is born is an important day in the life of the Meau and one that the parents look forward to with longing. Even later on, the birthdays within the family are always festive days, an observation that Lajonquière (1)

1. II, p. 317.

also made.

544 [556] Among the Meau, when the time of delivery comes, the woman squats on the ground next to the bed, and the husband supports her so that she does not topple over. Among men of some means, a mat forms the underlayer; otherwise leaves suffice. The husband catches the child, ties the umbilical cord, severs it with a pair of scissors, and washes the child with warm water. The child is not yet swaddled, however. If the husband has not yet experienced a confinement, the parents help him. Midwives are unknown. The placenta and [846] umbilical cord are preserved in a bamboo which, in the case of a boy, is buried next to the middle post of the house, in the case of a girl under the bed of the parents, always about three-quarters of a meter deep. When I inquired as to the reasons for this distinction, I was told: "A girl leaves the house when she marries and from then on belongs to the other family; a boy, however, stays in the house and augments the prosperity of the family." My Meau informants did not know why the afterbirth is dealt with in such a manner. They also believed that it would not matter if an animal were to devour the afterbirth, /49/ for an evil spirit would certainly not do this, since it would not taste good to him. Even today, however, the Meau still do [778] this as their ancestors did and in accordance with tradition.

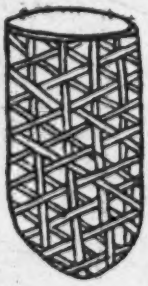
AKha A04
Miao AE5

/353 cont./

A 226 The Akha, too, do not know these fishing methods and are not even familiar with fish poison. Moreover, the Akha are not nearly as passionate about it, but they are likewise good fishermen. Like the Meau, they fish with their hands, with lines, simple hooks and small hand-nets which resemble A [227] the fish nets of the Meau. The net, however, is attached to a perforated wooden hoop (chapter, "Handicrafts," Fig. 406); the meshes of the net are like those of the carrying bags.

d) Agriculture

M 243 [433] [171] Whereas gathering, hunting, and fishing play almost only the role of expanding the food base, agriculture is the actual economic basis of all the mountain peoples of Farther India. The Meau in Thailand, strangely enough, do not arrange their rice fields in terraces, though their neighbors, the Chinese, are famous masters at it, and this agricultural method makes possible the cultivation of wet rice. Thus, on the steep slopes which, without terraces, also do not permit the use of the plow, only hoe culture remains. There are still living witnesses to the fact that in former times, and to be sure not too long ago, the situation was different in the more northerly habitation sites of the Meau now settled in Thailand. For instance, I found in northern Thailand a few old Meau who were still familiar with the use of the plow. In answer to my question as to why the use of this implement had been given up, an old chief replied: "This land, and even more the country that we had to pass through to reach our present dwelling sites, is mountainous, stony, and does not permit the use of the plow. In our old homeland, too, there were such regions in which one could not use a plow. In



M ●178 243 407 Fig. 266 Weir-basket of the Meau, about 1/20 nat. size.

M [227] [285]

/353 cont./

178 243 407 time the old men die, the young people no longer know the use of the plow, and so the custom begins to sink into oblivion, even where it could still be used today."

In any case the described tradition of the Meau in Thailand indicates that the plow and its field economy were not subsequently seen and copied from the Chinese or Annamese by the Meau passing through, /354/ but rather had been used in former times. This is also confirmed by the reports of various authors who visited the Meau in Indochina and in their other areas of settlement. The conditions there are different from those in Thailand, and the intensive agriculture of the Meau there forms the economic basis for a much higher standard of living than the members of the same people could have in Thailand. The Meau in Indochina have in large part retained [184] not only the use of the plow, but in many instances they have also succeeded in going over to the cultivation of wet rice and even to terraced fields, which presuppose the use of the plow.

243 [178] Abadie (1), for instance, writes: "The Meau also cultivate

1. Page 159.

mountain rice, but, like the Man, in increasingly greater proportions they are practicing wet-rice cultivation, which is easier and more productive." The author also shows illustrations of such large-scale fields with wet rice (Illustrations 135 and 428 on Plate 41 of his work) and then continues (p. 151): "The Meau who cultivate irrigated rice fields engage in this work along the high mountain valleys. Though the absolute altitude of these rice fields is relatively high, [361] the Meau do not live near them. The minute the daily work is finished, they again ascend to their villages, which always lie near the summits of the mountains."

/354 cont./

178 Lajonquière (2), too, has devoted attention to the culti-
243

2. II, p. 309.

vation of this field product among the Meau: "Wherever the Meau were able to adopt wet-rice fields, they have preferred to devote themselves to this work."

241 When the Meau in Thailand has found a suitable site in the forest for laying out fields, he goes there at the beginning [596] of the dry season with the members of his large /extended/ [782] family, sacrifices spirit-money, and requests first the ancestors and then the high Father-Mother spirit to help him and to protect him and his family against falling trees. Then all possible [787] omens are carefully noted. If no bad omens are discovered and none appear during the clearing that is now begun, the work is diligently continued. First the brush and the small trees, later the larger ones, are cut. Giant trunks, however, which offer /355/ too much resistance to the axes of the natives, are only hacked circularly, and the brush is piled up high around them. If resinous pine is encountered during this work, it is [314] left standing, but tapped so that the resin flowing out, which is a desirable product, will collect in the hollows of the tree. About a month later, when the cut underbrush and wood are thoroughly dry, the field is burned off and cleared of the half-burned wood; the latter is now piled around the trunks of the still unconquered primeval-forest giants, and everything is set afire again. Thus, even the mightiest trunks are finally [243] destroyed and only slightly hinder the growing seed of the mountain rice in its development under their crowns now stripped of foliage.

243 During the time between the burning and the first rains, which are awaited for the cultivation so that the forest soil will be sufficiently softened to receive the seed, the Meau [343] erect a small workhouse which is never lacking (Ill. 104).[1] [417] On the other hand, no fence is built around the field, unless it borders on the field of another. In that case a fence of [423] crude wooden sticks is erected on the boundary line. After

[1] [see cat 116, p705- ANALYST]

/366 cont./

231 sure-footed. These horses are never fattened; they are fed with a little grass, bamboo leaves, and a few handfuls of
[342] maize. As a rule, they are kept in a small shed which is attached to the house." In an enumeration /367/ of the domestic animals of the Meau that Lajonquière (1) makes, he

1. II, p. 310.

[492] also mentions horses: "They raise horses, cattle, and sometimes buffalo as work animals. Many families keep a mare. They raise pigs, goats, and poultry. The work animals and those for slaughtering, as well as the poultry, are of a special breed and very beautiful. Moreover, they have a special long-haired breed of dogs and ordinary cats. Many have beehives."

[184] The raising of buffalo mentioned by the author named is practiced, although relatively seldom, by the Meau in Thailand. It serves chiefly as a way to make money; the Meau in Thailand
[492] use the buffalo themselves only in exceptional cases, slaughtering them or utilizing them as riding or pack animals. The description that Savina (2) gives shows clearly that the buffalo gen-

2. II, p. 186.

erally play a rather subordinate role among the Meau: "The buffalo are never provided for. During the day they roam in the mountains, and in the evening they often come home if they are not too far away. Occasionally they are given a bundle of hay so that they will not become completely wild. When it rains or is cold at night, they walk around the house and rub against the walls."

[184] With regard to all three of the last-named kinds of animals, however, they usually cannot be kept at all in the mountains of Farther India on account of the steepness of the
[178] slopes. There, the breeding of cattle, horses, and buffalo as pack animals is disappearing, like the use of the plow, and man must again bear the loads alone, as in the times before the domestication of domestic animals.